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THE  
Humble Address  
OF THE  
PUBLICANS  
OF  
NEW-ENGLAND,  
To which KING you please.  
WITH SOME  
REMARKS  
Upon it.

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*A Publican is a Creature that lives upon the  
Common-wealth.*

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LONDON: Printed in the Year, 1691.

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LONDON: Printed in the Year 1702.

# The P R O E M

**T**HE Set of Publicans, being of late years increased to a number, not only far exceeding that of the Republicans, but, if you will believe themselves, to a Multitude beyond all others; and such Swarms of those Locusts appeared among us in the last years of the Late King Charles, that the Trade grew very low, and the Craft was almost worn Thred-bare; at least for such as were not considerable Proficients in the Profession: Therefore some of the weaker Brethren began to look out for Employment, and to think of Transporting themselves somewhere else; and after some inquiry, they were told of New-England: A Place, where there still dwelt, (as they were informed) some Men of Conscience, and shrewdly suspected to be Republicans; a sort of People, whose Interest and Principles is clear contrary to that of the Publicans; for your Republicans are clearly for keeping what they have; but your Publicans are for taking it away.

But above all they understood, That the People of New-England were grown exceeding Rich, and that, without doubt, they had been so employ'd in improving themselves, as to have little or no leisure to study Court-Juggles, and little Tricks: And therefore like to be the easier purchase for a parcel of poor hungry Publicans. This was no sooner known, but the Party dispatch'd Messengers on purpose to see if things were so: The Agents soon performed their Part, and brought back word, That the People of New-England were possess'd of great quantities of Republican Money, Old Puritan Lands, and other Common-wealth Goods. But the

only difficulty was, that though the simplicity of the People made them the easier to be imposed upon, as to the Passive part: yet for the Active, it made the work more difficult: for that this simplicity and plainness of the People was attended with a certain sort of Dullness and Stupidity which rendered them very incapable of Learning the Arts of Lying, Cheating, Dissembling, and Tricking, with some other fundamental Principles of the Publican Profession.

Thus they saw it next to impossible, to make any thing of a Party in New-England, and without a considerable Interest there, they found it hard to accomplish their ends, viz. To rob one half by the Assistance of the other.

Whilst they found things thus in New-England, they began to think of some Measures here at home, where their Party was become more considerable and eminent. Wherefore they proposed the doing that by a few, to which they could not persuade great numbers: And that principally by the Assistance of their Friends from hence; and therefore in the Beginning, and very near the End of the late King James his Reign, they corrupted a few, by the assistance of whom, and considerable Supplies from hence, they began their work.

Their first entrance was with the usual Ceremonies of Fraud and Deceit: But when they had gotten a little footing, they laid aside their Mask and fell to downright Violence.

In the first place, they assembled all the Money, Ships, Goods, Merchandizes, and other Common-wealth Commodities they could find; and condemned them to suffer the utmost Severities of Law: And when Moveables began to fail them, they fell upon the poor Innocent Houses and Lands, although they had been granted for ever by the Kings; James and Charles the first, of Glorious Memory, who were far enough in reason from being either Republicans or Puritans. But it seems the silly Lands, by some unlucky Accident or other, have since changed their Religion.

Finally they soon convinced the New-English-men, that tho' it were not reasonable for them to expect that the English Liberties could follow them to the ends of the Earth, as some of the Publicans



licans were pleased to express it; yet so long as they had any Common-wealth Commodities remaining, the Tricks, Juggles, and Designs of the Publicans would never forsake them.

But while they were thus busy, and most of the Rich men gone, or going away, and the Poor not able to stay; things began of a sudden to change the face in England, where the old Publicans began to scamper, and the young ones, being a People commonly of good easie and pliable Consciences, began to turn with the times.

The New-English took the opportunity, and, as it were in a Moment, laid aside the Publicans, sending a parcel of their Gang from whence they came. But some of the Spaw still remaining, and finding that though the alteration of the Government in England was quite contrary to their Interest and Principles, yet seeing it had more of the Block than the Stork, they resolved to play upon it.

And the Party in England begun their Projects again, and sent several Representations to Court, among which the following Address is one of the most Famous.

But while the Address was a hammering out by the Miserable Party in New-England, the Publicans here post over the French Kings Successes, and the Addressers being at the same time informed of the Disappointment at Canada: And therefore between Hope and Fear they knew not what to do: To send a Representation to King William and Queen Mary, they thought by no means adviseable, considering their hopes that King James might be returned to England before its Arrival, and then their dear Loyalty might be called in Question. And to France they could not conveniently send one, because the Commerce was stopt, and they had no Money to pay for Expresses, and therefore they resolved upon an Address with a Mental-Reservation in the Belly on't, For which King you Please; only they resolved to do it, and word it so, that if King James were indeed come back, they should have no difficulty to persuade that it was wholly and only intended for him; and should it happen otherwise, and that King William and his Ministers should trouble themselves to find out the Trick, they did not question but the Party

*in England had Impudence enough to perswade the Government, and secure them.*

Stand clear, here comes the Address.

## To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

### T H E

Humble Address of divers of the Gentry, Merchants and others,  
Your Majesties most Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, Inhabiting  
in *Boston, Charlestown*, and Places adjacent, within Your  
Majesties Territory and Dominion of *New-England*, in  
*America*.

In Most Humble manner Sheweth,

**T**HAT many of us in our late Humble Address, prostrated  
our selves at Tour Royal Feet, and should with all Silence  
and Humility have waited Tour Royal Will and Pleasure,  
did not Tour Majesty's Interest and our peace and safety at this  
day, more urgently enforce us to spread before Tour Sacred Majesty,  
the deplorable Estate and Condition of this Tour Territory and Do-  
minion. The late Revolution dividing the said Territory into ten  
Parts or Colonies, viz. Pemaquid, Province of Main, New-Hamp-  
shire, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Rhoad-Iland, King's Province,  
Connecticut, New-York, and East and West Jeriyes, thereby  
much debilitating each other, and giving great advantages to our  
Enemies, the French and Indians; and many hundreds of Tour Ma-  
jesties Subjects Murthered and Captivated: Pemaquid, all the Pro-  
vince of Main, save three Towns, and Senecdeka in the Colony of  
New-York, the Frontier Town of Canada and Inlet to New-Eng-  
land, being since destroy'd: Some Depradations made upon New-  
Hampshire and the Massachusetts, and all other the out-Towns  
in imminent danger, and Tour Majesties poor Subjects there in great  
Distresses and Fears, being expos'd to the Rapine and Cruelty of the  
Enemy, whenever attackt by them. That

*That an Expedition was made by some of Your Majesties Subjects in the Massachusetts Colony against the French at Port-Royal, who surrender'd themselves upon Articles; but no care taken to preserve the same for Your Majesties service, little Annoyance given to the Enemy by that, or any other Enterprize hitherto engaged in.*

*That an Agreement was made by those who pretend to Govern Tour Majesties said Colonies, to make an Attack upon the French at Canada; To which end New-York and Connecticut Colonies were to raise and send by Land, of the English and five Nations of the Indians 2000 Men: And Tour Majesties Colonies of the Massachusetts and Plymouth were to Equip a Navy by Sea of 32 Sail, and 2200 Souldiers and Marriners, which (without Tour Royal Commission or Order) was accordingly done. But the Land Forces fail'd of their performance; and the Navy sent to Quebeck being defeated, the whole Design was frustrated, to the almost Ruine and Destruction of Tour Majesties Subjects here, being set forth at a vast Expence, which besides the former heavy Taxes, will leave, even the Massachusetts Colony (as we Conjecture) in further Arrears of at least 50000*l*. Many of Your poor Subjects also being destroyed by the Enemy, and Dead by Distempers and Diseases happening among them in the said Expedition.*

*That by Reason of the want of Government settl'd by Tour Majesty, the Divisions and Strifes at New-York, thro' the Arbitrary Impositions and Exorbitant proceedings of the pretended Governour there, are risen to such a Height, that Tour Subjects in that Colony have lately taken up Arms one against another, and some Blood is already spilt; which will further weaken your Majesties poor Subjects, and greatly encourage the Enemy, whose Return upon us by Land, and Men of War from France by Sea in the Spring, we have great Reason to fear: Whom to resist, thro' want of Tour Majesties Government, as also of Arms and Ammunition to defend our selves, we shall be utterly incapacitated for.*

**DREAD SOVERAIGN,**

*We, Your Poor, Loyal, Distressed Subjects, therefore humbly supplicate Your Royal Favour to be extended towards us, in*  
Com-

*Commsierating our Lamentable Estate, and that You will be graciously pleased to take us into Your immediate Care and Protection, and send us such speedy Relief and Assistance as in Your Princely Wisdom shall seem most meet, to save us and ours, together with Your Majesties Interest in these Parts from Total Ruine:*

And your most obedient and Loyal Subjects, as in all Duty bound, will ever pray for your Majesties long and prosperous Reign.

Thom. Graffort.	Edward Gogge.
P. Bowden.	Fra. Foxcraft.
Dav. Waterhouse.	James Lloyd.
Laur. Hammond.	Tho. Newton.
Nath. Dows.	Dan. Allen.
Nath. Rand.	Sam. Walker.
John Cutler, <i>Junior.</i>	Nich. Manning.
Tim. Cutler.	Giles Dyer.
Richard Sprague.	Geo. Rafin.
Fr. Littlefield.	Jo. Herb. Coward.
John Hammond.	Natt. Shannon.
John Nelson.	Nicho. Tippet.
David Jefferies.	John Soames.
Benj. Mountfort.	Thomas Greaves.
Samuel Phillips.	Nico. Paige.
Henry Mountfort.	Edward Shippen.
Thom. Edwards.	Edward Palmes.

**Cum multis alijs.**

**H**ere is this goodly Address to some King or other: But it's always impossible it should be to our King *William* and Queen *Mary*; because, altho' it's true the Regal Power is in the King: yet certainly we all ought to know that the Name and Stile of our present Government is in King *William* and Queen *Mary*:  
and

and altho' it be allowed in some cases to make application to the King or Queen separately; yet in a thing of this nature, where the Royal Authority, Stile, and Title, must be used, if any thing be done about it; all Application must be made to the Government, that is to say, to the King and Queens Majesties; and no Representation of this kind can be sense without it. And therefore we must in reason conclude, that the Party never intended this their Address originally for King *William* and Queen *Mary*: And it would be a little too hard to think they intended it for the *French King Lewis*, since as yet he understands little or no *English*; tho' some of our *Publicans* do not despair of learning him the Language, with something else in time.

But if we consider all concurring Circumstances, we may easily find that this Address was chiefly and only intended for King *James*, tho' they have made it to serve another purpose for a need: For these Addressers are of the very Tools of Tyranny, who have been Aiding and Assisting in overturning all our Government, Laws, and Religion, in the late Reigns; and those are not only the Persons, but here are the very things which they have always been promoting under the late Tyrannies; and now they come with the remainder of their ungodly Projects. And dare any believe that it's to our King *William* and Queen *Mary*, *Princes ordained not to take away Priviledges, but to give them; to break the Bands of the Mighty, and let the Oppressed go free?*

So that if we consider the Persons, Stile, Matter, and Circumstance, we must needs allow that this Address was originally intended for the late King *James*, by a Party of Men who have not the capacity, *and yet are not ashamed to do, or at least attempt to do any thing.*

But if it be true that this Address, has been presented at Court, nay, and the Parties indifferent well received for some little time, tho' now it seems they are dismiss, it may cause some People to wonder that the Trick has not been there found out, and Reprehended. But for my part, I think it not strange at all,

that our Ministers of State at this time should have other work, than to make their Remarks upon every idle Pamphlet, or little *American* Representation; and it's not only so, but to say the truth, who could ever imagine that a few Bankrupt *Publicans* and Vagabonds in *New England* should send us over an Address of this nature, so sly, Doubtfully, Ambiguously, and cunningly penn'd, *as if it had been done in Vindication of the Dissenting Bishops, or by the heads of the Party at the Devil, over a Bottel of good French Claret.*

Now since we have seen the Address, and some part of its design, it is but reasonable that we also consider the Authors and their pretended Grievance; and if so, we shall find the Authors of the most depraved, and their pretences the worst grounded that ever were: these Addressors are of the Remainders and very Dregs of the two last Reigns, Persons brought up and educated in all manner of Debauchery and Depravation; a sort of People who may of right, and will stile themselves Gentlemen; *for they cannot work, and will not beg,* and therefore are fain to turn Sharpers, and practice little Tricks and Inventions for Bread: *To set their Neighbours House on fire, for an opportunity to steal his Goods. To trouble the Waters to make good Fishing. To pull down Houses to make themselves out of the Ruines:* Yet all these, and infinite other Inventions can seldom or ever make them Rich: for the holes of their Bags are commonly wider than their mouths; their extravagancy not only ruins them, but makes them wholly incapable to get their Living: and the rapacious natures of these Cormorants are insatiable, so that a few *Publicans* are capable to ruine a great People, and yet not make themselves; *for they have the right Talent to make a great City little, but never to make a little one great.*

And if any of their Party are become Rich by the ruine of the Publick (for it can hardly happen otherways) it is where the vice of Covetousness has by some accident or other got the prevalency over the rest; and such people keep true to the Profession and Party; sometimes for fear if Honesty come to be uppermost



uppermost, they may be called to an Account for their Administrations; or sometimes, because of the Enmity contracted between them and the rest of Mankind while they continued their Trade: or if it is that they grow sullen and tichy by some pricks of Conscience or other, and so become like the Devils, who finding themselves uneasie, they would have it so with every body else. Thus the interest, as well as inclination of this Faction, is, and always has been, clear contrary to that of all persons of Honesty, Credit, and Interest; and it were well if the honest part of Mankind were as dextrous in preventing the designs of these men, as they are to invent and carry them on: *for these Drones are not only greedy as Hell to devour whatever they can get, but they are so inhumane and cruel as to destroy the very Bees that feed them.*

And if we consider their Quarrel with *New-England*, it will appear to be one of the most Rapacious, Inhumane, and Ungrateful, that was ever.

For these poor People who first settled *New-England*; being persecuted by our *Publicans* at home, made their most Humble Application to the Kings, *James* and *Charles* the First successively. *Then whom never Princes were more jealous of their Prerogatives*, and who no doubt thought it a Miserable Choice, for those poor Distressed People to fly to a Wilderness, where Cold, Hunger, Savages, and innumerable Evils and Dangers must needs attend them: But tho' such Persons as were unwilling that this sort of People, should either live on Earth or go to Heaven, oppos'd it; yet these Princes were content to let them go, and make the best of their waste howling Desert, for them and their Posterity, if they should have any.

Our *Publicans* were generally glad at this departure, and thought they were well rid of them; as not doubting but the Sea, the Savages, cold, or the Country would eat them up: And the *Publicans* were the rather glad, because they apprehended some sharp people among the *Puritans* of those days, who were likely to be some Let to their Designs: And there is no doubt

but this dispersing the Spirit of the Nation made the *Publicans* grow secure, and embolden'd them to drive on so *Jehu* like, that they soon brought that poor Prince King *Charles* the first to engage himself in such Projects as proved his utter ruine.

But in the mean while the People of *New-England* shewed the world, that *Necessity and Freedome could do Wonders*; for in a few years, they grew to such a height and greatness, that they brought more Spirit, Virtue, Riches, Industry, Glory, and Honour, to the *English Nation*, than ever any Collony did: Until the *Publicans* so far prevail'd in the two last Reigns, as to perswade our late Kings, *Charles* and *James*, among other illegal courses, by Fraud and Violence to seize the Liberties and Priviledges of *New England*; but our flattering *Publicans* shewed themselves in this, as in all other their Methods with Kings; that is to say, both *Deceitful, Dangerous, and Destructive*. For they perswaded the late King *James* to do this, not only against all Justice and Right, but also quite contrary to his Interest and Profit; for what he could not do by fair means, he did by force, sending over a chargeable Governour, with a sort of an Army, who not only Ruin'd the Countrey, but spent the King's Money into the bargain; and this was all brought about, only to bring a few poor Distressed *Publicans* into Employment: Thus the King lost by it, and the Country lost by it, and none gained, but the *Publicans*.

It is deplorable to see the Effects of the Projects of these idle Deceivers: For how many Princes have they not Destroy'd, and so far are they gone in it, that they almost pretend to the Trade of *Ruining Kings by Prescription*: It is these Men who advise Kings and Princes to all sorts of dangerous Enterprizes, only to cut out work and subsistence for their Extravagancies; they have made most of the Princes that ever sat upon the *English* Throne Unhappy; to them and to them only, may be attributed all the Misery and Unhappiness, Blood and Ruine, of the Four last Reigns; and we have seen with our Eyes what they have done with the two late Kings. And indeed its almost impossible for  
Princes

Princes and Great Men to shun them, for those Devils appear most commonly like Angels of Light, they put a gloss upon every thing, and cast Mists before the Prince's Eyes; honest and plain hearted Persons, neither can nor will appear but what they really are, they appear only Naturally; but the *Publicans* come always with their *hocus pocus Tricks*, and appear Artificially. And altho' Natural things be most simple and real, yet Artificial things are commonly most pleasing; and thus our *Publicans* have always had, and will have, a great advantage of other men, by their profound Abilities in the Arts of *Flattering, Lying, and Cheating*; altho' the rest of Mankind exceed them in every thing else.

But the great cry of our *Publicans*, and by which they would scare us out of our Wits, is, a *Commonwealth*, a *Commonwealth*; nay, we dare not Speak, Act, Write, Work, nor sit still, for fear of a *Commonwealth*: One would wonder what should occasion all this Fear, Distraction, and Disorder in our *Publicans* about a *Commonwealth*; but to do them Right, they have more cause to be at their Wits end, when they Think, Hear, or Speak of a *Commonwealth*, than every one thinks; for those *State Chymists* have been hard at work, ever since the days of that Mighty Hunter Nimrod, to invent a perfect perpetual Tyranny; and commonly when they have e'en just done it, to about the same Degree that Agrippa was a Christian; one unhappy accident or other comes over it; and necessitates one extremity to produce another, and so all blows up into a *Commonwealth*. This has happen'd to them not once nor thrice, but so many thousand times, that they are now grown Hair-Brain'd, and quite beside themselves; and their many and surprizing frights, have brought them into a continual fancy, that every House, Town, Island, Country, Colloney, Plantation, Ship, or any thing they hear, see, or speak of, will presently turn a *Commonwealth*: And to say the truth on't, it's no wonder they are in this pickle about it, for they have been longer at work upon it, and met with far more disappointments, than all the Pro-  
jectors

*jestors of the Philosophers Stone, and Malable Glass, have ever done.*

But to come to the purpose, I would fain know of our *Publicans*, how many Cities and Countries, have ever Revolted and turned *Commonwealths*, for being too well used ? For my part I cannot tell that I ever Read or Heard of any : but I can think of abundance who have fall'n away and revolted by reason of oppression and hard usages; surely our *Publicans* must needs look upon that to be of the highest of Crimes, which the old *Romans* reckon'd among the greatest Virtues, in that Famous Judgment of theirs in the Case of the *Privernates*, who having committed high Offences against the *Majesty of Rome*, in defending their Liberties to great Extremities, and being brought before the Senate, to be condemn'd to suffer the severest Punishments for their Crimes, and before they were called into the Senate, a Senator happen'd to ask one of the principal Malefactors, *what security the Romans could have, if they should give them their Lives upon Conditions, and whether they would observe their Articles well?* The poor Prisoner answer'd freely ; *if it be upon good terms, it will be firm and perpetual ; but if upon ill, it will hardly last long.* The *Romans* were not yet grown quite so Addle-Headed, as upon this Noble and Resolute Answer, to bawl out *Republicks and Commonwealths*, and I know not what else ; but on the contrary they said, *That the Prisoner had spoken like a Man, and like a Freeman, and that it was not to be supposed, that any People or private Person would submit to a condition that oppress him, longer than by Necessity he was constrained ; and that if any Peace be lasting and Inviolable, it is where the Parties do voluntarily submit, and not where Servitude and Slavery is Imposed ; and for this the Senate presently Decreed them Free-Men of Rome, and Declared, that they only deserved to be Romans, whose Liberty was the greatest part of their care.* This is the Truth, but our *Publicans*, nor their Father the Devil, neither can nor will endure it : But to what purpose shall we Instance History to this sort of Men, for they neither Read, nor Think, nor Act as if they did ?

But

But to say the truth, the *Publicans* are the only Makers of *Republicks*; but it's also true that they do it always by contraries. *The Publicans make Common-wealths, as Malefactors make Laws*; for were there no Malefactors, there would be no need of Laws: and were there no Publicans, there need be no Republicks; and it may be truly asserted, That there never was any Rebellion or Revolt of People upon earth, but what has been caused directly or indirectly by the *Publicans*. Did not the ten Tribes revolt by bitter usage, and but one Sermon of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance Preached to them by King Rehoboam? It seems the Priests were not grown quite so Mercenary in those days, as they have been in ours, otherwise Rehoboam might have spared himself the labour, and got others to do it. It also appears that the *English* of our days have not been altogether so stubborn as the old *Israelites* were, who revolted at one single discourse of this sort of stuff: But the *English* have had both the patience to hear it and feel it by the space of seven or eight and twenty years.

It's strange to consider whither the passions and lusts of these men are able to carry them; for had King Rehoboam kept his Tantivy Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance to himself, and preached it to his Wives and Concubines, and given his Subjects a few good words, and some little ease from their Grievances, the poor People had been his Servants for ever; but the *Publicans* would not only have their ends, but they would also have their humour; and so they lost both.

But the short and long of the business was, that the *Publicans* in those days were just such another Crew of unthinking people as they are now: And having debauched the young King to their humours, they began to think themselves as much interested and concerned in the Government as he; and having got a Copy of the late King David's Charter, they resolved to use it to a purpose for which it was never intended, viz. To establish the *Publican* Principles, and Interest; and besides all this, being Gentlemen, they could not bear to be affronted by the unmannerly Mob. Therefore, between passion and invention, they set the poor young Prince

up.

up to Preach a Doctrine which soon brought both him and them down.

And moreover doubtless they had in their eye, that the people were grown rich by the prosperous Reign of *David*, and the peaceable one of *Solomon*; and had found out some new invention or other for fleecing them: and having little or nothing to lose, and it being their Trade to hazard Kings, they made no difficulty to run the risk: Thus they bubbled King Rehoboam into such excesses, as soon convinced him of his Error, but when it was too late.

And we have not only this instance, but there never was any Rebellion or falling away of any People, but it was always begun by the *Publicans* of the times. It's true it was commonly ended by other people: And good reason, *self Defence is a Principle in Nature.*

And durst our *Publicans* venture for once to give themselves a little liberty to think, they should easily find, that all the Revolts which ever happened in *Israel* and *Juda*, were because of having too few Priviledges, but never for having too many: And not only so, but how many thousand instances of this kind could be given, from what has happened among other Peoples? But to leave them all, let us only observe instances of such as subsist now a days. Did not *Genoua* Revolt from the *French* by bad usage? *Luca* from *Florence*? *Switzerland* from the House of *Austria*? and *Holland* from *Spain*? Were not all these Revolts occasioned by the highest oppression, and even despair? When the *Publicans* thought themselves cock-sure, and utterly impossible for the People to think of a Rebellion, much less to Speak or Act: But it seems that God is still greater than the *Publicans*, and will continue his old work of Ruling in the Kingdoms of Men, and giving them to whomsoever he will; and sometimes setting up over them the basest of Men.

But what need us so many Instances abroad, since we have them so plentifully at home, and what is most fresh in our Memory? Did not we Revolt from King *James* for hard usage? And I dare say, that the only and possible way to make New-  
England



*England a Commonwealth* at this time, according to the Caprice of our *Publicans*, would be to take away their old Priviledges, and send them some Alva or other of a general Governour.

There are no People upon Earth of narrower Souls and meaner Capacities than our *Publicans*, for they have been at work one where or other for some thousands of Years to establish their Maxims, and have always proved abortive, yet will they never be convinced of their weakness: But did they either read, or think, or converse with any freedom, they might easily know that there are but two ways for us to secure our selves of men, that is, either to oblige them or ruine them; and the first of these is commended by all the *Laws of Charity and Reason*: But the last is contrary to all *Justice and Humanity*. The first of these ways our *Publicans* will not take, because if they do Justice, *they shall lose their Trade, and all their goodly Projects*; and should they take the last, *there would be no body left to be their Slaves*; so they take always the middle way, the most pernicious in State Affairs, not to murder all the people, but only a part, and make the rest Bondmen. And thus there is almost continual War between the *Publicans* and the rest of Mankind, in which the People are always too strong for the *Publicans* at Blows, but the *Publicans* too hard for them again at Lying, Dissembling, Flattering, and Cheating.

But certainly one would think that after the Example of the late King James, our *Publicans* should think of forsaking their Craft; for who had ever a greater opportunity than he to accomplish their ends: *He succeeded a Brother who had lived long enough to Debauch and Debase the Nation to a wonder*: He had an Army at his Heels of Thirty or Forty Thousand Men, and could have what more he pleased: *Nay, he could, if need were, Muster a whole Army of Priests, Armed and appointed on all sides with their Books and Sermons of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance*; yea, and they had so far prevailed, that the People seemed in a manner wholly to believe them; and most men thought they really did it, *until the good Prince of Orange was pleased to shew us that the Parsons never meant it themselves*: And after this, to see

his Army, and almost all his Creatures forsake him, as it were in one day, *and the Parsons obliged to change their note*, is enough to convince, *that the hearts of a People are the best, and indeed the only true security to a Prince.*

But the worst is, that our Friends the *Publicans* commonly understand no imployment but their own; and should we happen to convince them, *we must give them Estates as well as Reason*; or otherwise they cannot subsist. And certainly they are often provok'd to plodding by necessity, as being fit for nothing else; and to confirm this, we see *there is hardly a Malefactor that suffers now a days, but he makes profession of his Faith as a Publican at the place of Execution.*

And certainly, if we look into almost all our Affairs of late, we shall find that the *Publicans*, by their projects and plodding, have not only ruin'd our Kings, *but almost the Nation*: and that not only by their outward and more open Violences; *but also by more subtle influences and designs*; and that in a more particular manner in Relation to Trade, *the only thing capable to make England great.* And certainly had not the Spirit of the Nation been come to such a height in our late Intestine War; *that it must vent it self some way or other*; and being brought to a stand by the Restoration of King Charles the Second; and there being no opportunity in War, *it forced it self through all opposition, and broke forth into Trade*; and all this notwithstanding the opposition of the *Publicans* against it, *who laid several Stumbling Blocks and restraints in the way, as it were on purpose to prevent its Progress*; and had not another concurring Circumstance helpt us out, those Times, and the Inventions of the *Publicans*, *had not only ruin'd Trade, but the Nation therewith*: And this was, that almost all our Neighbours were jealous of one another for the whole time: and not only so, but *under some other disadvantages, which would not suffer them to do any thing great.*

And tho' it's our happiness that those Circumstances of our Neighbours saved us from ruine, yet we may now bewail it when it is something too late, *that never any People had a greater opportunity than we have partly lost to make our Nation great.* And tho'

tho' it's true, that we have done some considerable things in the late Reigns, yet *they are nothing to what the time and opportunity called us to do* : And how far we have lost our opportunity, any but *Publicans* may easily see : And among other our misfortunes, we have seen our *East-India Company* lose it self between *Prerogative and Priviledge*, or rather, between *Prerogative and Law* : for by the uncertainty of the Company's Priviledges, we see the Dutch have got the Footing, *and we in a manner lost East-India* : All these and a thousand other Extravagancies have our *Publicans* done and committed for fear of a *Common-wealth* : and should our Trade, *by which, and by which only we can maintain and increase our Greatness*, be under no better direction for the future a little time is like to make England a Province to some of its Neighbour Countries.

But to speak freely, and surely, it concerns us both to think and speak of this Matter *Plainly and without Reserve*, and especially at this time, when our opportunity is very near ; tho' I am fully satisfy'd, *not quite lost* : but there is still so much remaining, tho' no thanks to us ; *as may not only Preserve us*, but if we double our Diligence, *we may soon Recover what ever we have lost* .

One of our great Unhappineses is, that most of the Persons in our Government understand little or nothing of Trade, *and so they leave it always at uncertainties* ; or if they do any thing for its Interest, *it's commonly by chance*, and not from Knowledge or Experience of the thing ; and the most they have done for Trade, has been upon the Projects of Persons *who have never been abroad, nor seen any thing ; and who only hatch their Inventions out of the warmth of their Brains, without any other helps* ; and such Projects, instead of helping us, have commonly made it abundantly worse ; of this sort of Projects, are the greatest part of the *Act of Navigation*, and our Inventions about the *Improvement of Wooll*, which instead of being advantageous to us, have been the greatest Lets and hindrances, *that ever the Trade and Ingenuity of England saw* ; and if they are not soon remedied, the Consequence is like to be such, as no True *Englishman* would willingly live to see.

And surely one would think, that few or none should be ignorant at this day, *That since Trade hath flourished, she has made as many and considerable changes in the world, as ever Empire did: How often has not she made a poor People Rich, a little People Great, and an Ignorant People Wise?* And methinks the English Nation should at least Incourage Trade to purpose, or let it wholly fall; and do as some of our Country Gentlemen seem to advise, if not by their Words, at least by their Actions: *That is, to Prohibit all Converse with Strangers, lay aside our Shipping, eat our own Bread, drink our own Beer, wear our own Wooll, and so turn Savages, and then we shall keep our Money among our selves, make Wooll dear, and consequently make Lands yield a good price.* A Project fit for none but Savages to propose.

And if we will begin to Incourage Trade, our way is not to take away Priviledges, but to give them; for we see the Dutch and all other People, who ever did or pretend to do great things by Trade, have always proposed and done it, upon the Foundation of vast Priviledges and Immunities; for it's a Maxim which always holds, that Trade and Tyranny will never agree; and we have an Eminent Example of the effect of this, in the Dutch East-India Company, who have Priviledges so immense, as I dare say, the People of New-England will never think of, if our Publicans do not provoke them to it: Their Priviledges have Inabled them to Shake Kingdoms, Remove Kings, and give Laws to the Eastern World: This is that Company, which is a Subject in Holland, and one of the greatest Sovereigns upon Earth in India; and had not the Dutch made one false step above forty years ago, in ceding Brazile to the Portuguese; and that their West-India Company had been Armed with the same Immanities, as their East, they had shewed the World ere this, that they could Conquer without War, and overcome without Fighting; for they had in all Humane Appearance, been at this time Dominators of the Seas, and Lords of the Indies. But however it is, they have done much with nothing, and we have only done little with much.

And certainly, tho' the Priviledges of New-England, have been

been very inconsiderable, in respect of what other People, who will promote Trade and Plantations, have commonly given; yet they have behav'd themselves so, *as to deserve them enlarged, instead of being diminished*; and this we shall see, if we do but consider the Manners and Dispositions of that People, and their difference from those of the other Colonies, before our *Publicans* began their Projects among them: *New-England* had a Sweet, Easy, and Gentle Government, *Made and Constituted by, as well as for the good of the People*; A Government, that knew no Interest inconsistent with that of their Country and Charge; *and it may be, all things considered, coming nearer to the Blessed Theocracy at first settled by God himself, than ever was any on Earth*; and the Effects of it soon turned a *Barren Wilderness into a Fruitful Field*: Insomuch, that we have seen these Colonies, *the Envy of the Tyranny, and the Glory of England*.

It was the Glorious Effects of this Government which has rendered that People *Civilly good, far above all the other English Colonies that ever were*; for there could be nothing seen but Religion, Industry, and Sobriety; their Women employed in one ingenious thing or other, and far from the common temptations to Pride, Pomp, and Lust; their young Men industrious, every one improving himself in his way, and preserved from Idleness and Debauchery; their Old Men sitting honourably at the Gates, *thinking well, and speaking right*.

Where their Young were loved, and the Old honoured, and *where few or no Complainings for want were heard in the Streets; few or no Suits of Law*; but if there were any, they were commonly ended in a few hours or days, or at most in a few weeks, at only a few Shillings or Pence expence: No publick Debauchery, Disorders, Extravagancy, or Sabbath-breaking there to be seen. The admirable Effects of all which, has been to settle and People a Countrey in a few years, *which one would think had cost five times the space*. Men of Estates, instead of going from thence, went from all places thither, *to a People flourishing*

*in their simplicity, honesty, and integrity, and to whom others were rather indebted, than they in debt to any.*

We must needs confess, when *Messieurs the Publicans* began to set up their inventions in *New-England*, they soon turned all things into reverse; and what can we expect from any Country or People, but that their Government should have an outward influence upon them, in making them civilly good or bad, according as that is *Constituted and Ordained*; for all real Change comes immediately from God to the heart, but artificial ones arise most commonly from the outward circumstances of men; and the multitude are as they are made.

But if we look into most of the other *English Plantations*, we shall find all quite contrary; Inhabited by a People, who commonly cannot, or may not have any Principles of Honour, Honesty, Industry, or Vertue, *miserable Subjects of Oppression and Slavery, Deceit, and Violence*; who, instead of turning a barren Wilderness into a fruitful Field, have commonly turned a fruitful Field into a barren Wilderness. A poor naked hungry Governour comes usually from the Court every three years, with a troop of miserable debauched Followers, and for the most part guilty of one Crime or other, whose Debaucheries, Ignorance, and Necessities, provoke them to innumerable Practices of Fraud, and Violence. They do that in some of the English Colonies, which it may be was never done by any Civil People upon Earth, for they Buy and Sell one another for Debt. No Rich Man is safe, unless he be Partners with the Governour, nor hardly then neither; where the People are so corrupted and depraved by the Debauchery and Malignity of the Government, that there is hardly any thing can be heard of, but Quarrels, Contentions, and Suits of Law; and yet there can hardly any Process happen, but Plaintiff and Defendant must both be losers. Instead of increasing, they decrease daily, both in Riches and People: For in the Year 1681 there was in one of the most considerable English Plantations above 7000 fighting Men, and five Years after, there was found but about 4700. And let any thinking Person  
but



*but judge what becomes of the rest; besides the fresh People that come yearly. And most other Plantations are much the same.*

And as it were to crown all their other Barbarities, they have made their *Plantations Prisons as well as Dens of Slavery*; for none can go out of any of them without permission from the Governour for the time and place; and by this, they deprive Mankind at once of the only valuable thing in the World, *precious Liberty*: For if the very thoughts of Confinement are the most grievous, *how abundantly more is the thing it self?*

These, and such as these are the Causes that Foreigners can hardly find an honest man to Correspond with; and that as soon as persons begin to get any thing of an Estate, they are fain to forsake those places, *which for the most part are more in Debt than they are worth; miserable Prisons, and Dens of Slavery, full of Violence and Wrong*, where there is hardly any Principles of Honour or Honesty to be found, *and where even their Mercy, Justice, and Right, are intollerable Grievances.*

These things, and these only, are *the source and Original Cause of Pyrates, and Bukaneers*; for Servants become desperate, and run away from their Masters; and Debtors, for fear of Slavery, run away from their Creditors, *and become Pyrates, and Robbers.* Thus the Tyrannies and Evil Government of the Plantations *is the Original Cause of all the Rapines, Ruine, and Blood committed and shed in the Indies.*

And if the influence of their present Constitution continues long upon them, we may reasonably expect *that our Plantations shall soon become as miserable as those of Spain; or otherwise break out into Pyracies, and become a greater plague to England, than ever were the Turks upon the Coast of Barbary.*

And had the *Bukaneers* been indued with Conduct suitable to their Courage, *they had shew'd us e'er this another sort of Government, both for Riches and Greatness, than any at present in Europe*; and what has been so long possible, may at one time or other be done, if there be not suitable and timely means used to prevent it.

Thus

Thus whilst our *Publicans* are amusing us with their apprehensions of a *Republick* in New-England, they are hard at work in their old *Antipathetical* way, setting up one of the most dangerous and depraved *Mobs* and *Nest of Pyrates* that ever was; that should it succeed, may infest the whole *Indies*: And they have brought it so far already, that if better heads do not undertake the work, it is not in their capacities to prevent it. But it may be they do this with some design or other; for to say the truth, the *Bukaneers* are almost as depraved as the *Publicans* themselves.

By these, and many other Examples, we may see, that it's not so much the Air which people live in that corrupts their manners, as some shallow-brain'd Politicians will have it, but it's the Evil Government, Evil Communication, and bad Examples, by which men corrupt one another; as it is written, *the wicked walk on evry side, when the vilest of men are exalted.* And Solomon says, that *by the blessing of the Upright the City is Exalted, but it is overthrown by the mouth of the wicked.* And God complaining of the Government of *Judah*, by the mouth of his Prophet *Isaiah*; he says, *How, is the faithful City become an Harlot? it was full of Judgment, Righteousness lodged in it; but now Murderers.* And giving the reason thereof, he says, *thy Princes are Rebellious, and Companions of Thieves, every one loveth Gifts, and followeth after Rewards: They judge not the Fatherless, neither doth the Cause of the Widdow come unto them.* And speaking of the Remedy of these things, he says, *I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy Tinn, and I will restore thy Judges as at the first, and thy Counsellors as at the Beginning: Afterwards thou shalt be called the City of Righteousness, the Faithful City.* Here we see that God himself, in whose hands all things are, speaks as if there were no other way for a People to become civilly good, but by the influence of a good and righteous Government; and surely we may take it for a Rule, that the good or pernition of Politick, as well as other Bodies, proceeds from their Constitution,

tion, and the influence which that hath upon them. And it's no wonder that this should be a Rule on Earth, since it is no less then the Basis of Heaven; for if *Justice and Judgment are the habitations of Jehovah's Throne and Dominion*, it must needs be the consequence, that such Constitutions among Men as are most consonant to this Rule of Righteousness, shall always be most durable and happy; and it's from this foundation that there never was any outward promise made in the Law, but with the condition of outward Obedience.

And we may freely venture to tell our *Publicans*, that if ever they make their *Tyrannies, Treacheries, and little Tricks*, everlasting, they must do it out of God's Dominion; and I doubt not but we should soon be rid of them, if they did but know of such a place, and could any way come at it; especially if the People of the Country were any thing Rich.

But now I think on't, our *Publicans* are of late wonderfully puffed up with the Success of their little Idol the *French King*; and they seem confident, that the Art of making Tyranny everlasting, is newly found out by the *French Engineers*; but I doubt not but some of the Crew shall yet live to see *this their last Chimera also broken to pieces*, and the *French projects*, what ever they may do for a little time, prove as empty as those of the *House of Austria*, who, by their platform of an absolute Monarchy, have drawn almost the whole Body into the Head, and we have seen the Consequence, that the Body is thereby disabled and weakned, and the Head broke out into Distempers: So that the *House of Austria*, altho' posselt of almost all its ancient Dominions, yet instead of offending others, it cannot now defend it self. Thus the *Austrian Publicans* have almost ruined *Spain, Italy*, a great part of *Germany*, and the *Indies*, and yet not helpt themselves; but are at this day so miserable, that there wants but the opportunity of some little Usurper or Invader to run away with the whole *House of Austria*. And thus it has been with *Austria*, and shall be with *France*, and with all the Tyrannies that ever shall be invented; for it's impossible that Nature should long

*endure so great an inequality ; as we see in the Natural Body, that when it is disordered, and in Fits, it seems to be stronger than at another time ; but that is soon over, and followed with great weakness ; so if our Publicans will please to think, they shall not find the French Tyranny can last long ; but yet it may be so long, as to give our Publicans in England, if they have not a care, such an opportunity of discovering themselves, as almost nothing else could do ; and by that means Administer them such a sort of Correction as they have not hitherto been acquainted with : I advise them to begin to think Divine Vengeance has leaden Heels, but Iron Hands.*

But our *Publicans* of late seem to change Party, and cry out nothing but *Law*. and *Reason* : And especially these of *New-England*, by Instructions no doubt from the Party here, have learned to cry *Law, Law* ; and that *the present Government of New-England is not according to Law* : But we may be sure that their use of *Law* is only like the Devil's use of Scripture, *to pervert it, and do mischief therewith*. But it's amazing, that these Miscreants dare be so impudent at this time of day, as to call in question all those great and glorious things that have been done in our late, and happy Revolution ; and not only so, but to justify *all the Tyrannies and Barbarities of the late Reigns* ; for in all their Clamour, they not only take it for granted, that *the People of New-England did lose their Liberties and Properties in the late Reigns*, but that all the late Tyrannies were Lawful ; *thereby openly condemning the Prince of Orange's Declaration, and all the Resolutions of the Convention of States ; and the practice, not only of New-England, but almost of all the Corporations in England : For the then Prince of Orange, called an Assembly of the States of England to be Made, Chosen, and Constituted, according to the Antient Rights and Privileges of every Place ; and the People every where, notwithstanding the late Usurpations upon their Liberties, did all chuse according to antient Right, and all these Persons Sat, and Voted in the late Blessed Revolution, in Matters of the highest consequence that can possibly ever happen in England ; for it was Dis-*  
solving

solving an Old Government, and making a New one: *And not only so, but many Worthy Gentlemen who were Out-lawed in the late Reigns, for pretended Treason, made no bones en't, to go and sit, and were freely admitted in Parliament; and did not stand still until their Judgments and Outlawries were Revers'd, for that was only matter of Form, but not a matter of Right; and this was the very Case of New-England, in common with so many of their fellow Subjects of England; and thus there can be no true friend to the present Government will doubt, but New England is now upon the same Foundation on which it stood before their freedoms were Ravished from them, excepting only the Reversal of the Judgment against their Charter; which as the matter stands, is but matter of form.*

And were it not for losing an opportunity of having their Privileges and Immunities augmented by their Majesties Bounty and Grace, *so eminent in them, above any of their Royal Progenitors; surely it would be best for the People of New England, to sit still where they are, and only Reverse the Judgment against their Charter, which no doubt they may do of Course, and then let our Publicans see if they could persuade King William and Queen Mary to begin where King James left off, and so to bring another Quo-waranto against the Priviledges of New-England.*

I had thought to bring many Examples and Precedents from our Laws and Customs, to confirm what I have asserted; but I think there is enough said, to prove that *New England* stands upon the same Foundation with our present Government; and besides, what should we do with Law and Precedents for our *Publicans*, the Men must first have Reason, before they will be fit to hear Law; and our Law Cases may possibly serve upon another occasion, if we should need them. Besides, they could be of no great use at this time, since we know that the *Publicans* present noise of Law, is chiefly intended to wound our present Government through the sides of that of *New-England*.

But after all, let us come to the Quality of the Addressers, where we shall find that the interest of the Faction is so low in *New-England*, that they have not been able, of all sorts and sizes, to make up the number of forty persons, after all their running, riding, working, perswasion, and industry; which further confirms, that those little Tools in *New-England* are only made subservient to another far more Considerable Faction some where else; which rightly considered, makes it wonderful; that notwithstanding the weakness of their interest, yet they should be able to keep *New England* unsetled for more than two years of the Reign of *King William*, and *Queen Mary*; and by that means, not only prevent the total Conquest of *Canada*, but have brought great, and almost unspeakable disadvantages to the Interest of the present Government throughout *America*; for otherwise, we might in all humane appearance, have seen the *French* by this time, dispossess'd of all their Acquisitions in those parts of the World.

And certainly, should we begin to recollect all the most considerable Services of our *Publicans* to the *French* interest of late years, we shall find none more considerable than this; and surely our Addressers have deserved to partake with the *French King* in all his late Triumphs, and some of his Gold, more than any the like number that I can possibly think of: But, alas, these have been but the Factors and Agents of others; and their greatest Successes can only bring their heads to Promotion, but little or nothing can fall to the Tools thereby.

And there is no doubt but the great and principal reason of these Mens Successes in *New England*, since their Majesties happy Accession to the Crown, has been the remissness of the Government and People there, in doing Justice upon the late Betrayers and Invaders of their Country. *Two or three Eminent Examples of Justice, and the Building of a good Bridewell for the rest of the Lazy Crew*, had pretently put them out of all these doubts, and made room enough for the Progress of their Majesties Arms in *America*.

Among



Among the Addressers there is one *Laurence Hammond*, who hardly deserves the name of *Haman*, altho' it's pretty near it: He it seems has written a long Letter to some body or other in *England*, which the Party have been at the charge of Printing in the same Sheet with the Address. *Laurence Hammond* in this his Letter, has also imitated, doubtless so much as he was capable, the canting Stile of the *Publicans*, but has done it so meanly, that it's a better Answer to it self than any I can give it, and therefore I leave him to write another to better purpose.

It seems the Addressers have deputed the *Messieurs le Colonel Charles Ledge*, and the *Sieur Edward Randolph* to Drink, Damn, Swear, and Swagger against the People of *New-England* in *London*, and to Barrel up some more Hogsheads of Blank Patents for *Old Puritan Lands*, to be ready Salted, Pickled, and well Condition'd, against the first opportunity of Transport to *New-England*, for *Country Consumption*.

The *Sieur Ledge* is renowned for his late Prosecution of the *Prince of Orange's Declaration*, and for his Zeal in carrying on the new designs for disturbing our Peace, Drinking of Religious Healths, and other considerable Feats. And the *Sieur Randolph* has got a Name in the World by being one of the first *Publicans* dispatched from hence to *New-England*; and who has ever since had a considerable interest in all the projects of the Party there; and not only so, but the Man is of late grown very Eminent for his new Inventions in the Arts of Forging Letters and false News: And if his Improvement in those Arts be so considerable as they say, surely he could make vast advantage of it among the *Adionists* in *Amsterdam*; But now I think on't, *Holland* is a Republick, and that sort of Air does not very well agree with his Complexion.

To give them both their due, they are a couple of indifferent well accomplished *Publicans*, and fit enough to serve the Interest, and more especially if they have but the Language, and if they have it not, it's hopt their Friends in *New-England* will please to spare them time to learn it: For the *Monseurs* are grown of late  
so

so imperious that they will hardly speak any thing but *French*, altho' they understand it never so well. Thus it seems they would not only have us Slaves to their humours, *but even to their very Language.*

These, and such as these, are the Agents and Tools of the Party here, and I doubt not but a little time shall so discover them to the World in general, and to the present Government in particular; as to procure them a sort of Advancement, tho' not such a one as they are plodding for: But it must be by contraries, otherwise it would not suit with their condition.

But after all their great Successes in their late Undertakings against the Government, whether it be in preventing our Conquest of *Ireland* in the Year 89, their baffling our designs at Sea these two last Years, their imbroiling us in *Scotland*, in *New-England*, and over the rest of *America*: Yet our *Publicans* are extremely troubled at something or other; and it seems that one of their Afflictions is, that tho' the *English* have not as yet dispossest the *French* of whole *Canada*, yet they have made a good beginning, and such considerable discoveries, as being well followed, may soon bring the rest: This has put them into such a fright and disorder, that it's common with them now to cry out *Canada, Canada*, as it has been always to cry out *Commonwealth, Commonwealth*; and to say the truth, they have reason, for *Canada* is the fairest Flower of the *French* Crown beyond the Ocean, and capable, if gained, and well improved by the *English*, of making the Nation some Compensation for and towards the Charge of this expensive War, which our *Publicans* have been pleased to engage us in; besides the influence it may have to ruine the *French* Interest in all *America*.

And the second vexation of our Addressors is about Sir *William Phips*, a Person of a clear contrary humour and principle to the *Publicans*, for it has always been Sir *William's* disposition to seek the Wealth of his People, with as great Zeal and unweariedness, as our *Publicans* use to seek their loss and ruine.

At

At first, it seems they were in hopes to gain this Gentleman to their Party, as thinking him good natur'd, and easie to be flatter'd out of his understanding; and the more, because they had the advantage of some no very good Treatment that Sir William had formerly met with from the People and Government of New-England. But Sir William soon shew'd them that what they expected would be his temptation, to lead him into their little tricks, he embraced as a glorious opportunity to shew his Generosity and greatness of mind; for in imitation of the greatest Worthies that have ever been, he rather chose to joyn in the defence of his Country with some Persons, who formerly were none of his Friends, and it may be had never been for his Virtue, without his Success, than become the head of a Faction, to its ruine and desolation.

It seems this noble disposition of Sir William, joyned with that Capacity and good Success wherewith he has been attended, in raising himself by such an occasion, as it may be, all things considered, has never hap'ened to any before him, makes our Publicans apprehensive, and not without reason, that these are but the beginnings and Forerunners of the Noble Achievements which still remains for him to do, for the adorning of his Age, and the Glory as well as the Advantage of his Native Country.

And as the Publicans are highly apprehensive of the indefatigable Labours of Sir William Phips, of which they have already seen some part of the Consequence, it must needs heighten their Trouble, to see that he neither hath, nor doth spare himself, nor any thing that is near and dear to him, in promoting the good of his Native Country; and consequently, the Interest as well as Advantage and Glory of our Sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queens Majesties; and it's the Hope and Expectation of all Good Men, who have the Honour of his Acquaintance, that God Almighty will Bless and Prosper these unwearied, and so much dreaded Endeavours of his, with Prosperity and Glorious Success.

But this Famous Publican Address, has not only been Signed

by

by all the Trash they could Rake together, but also with a **Cum multis aliis.**

You can hardly think how I was at first puzzled with this *Cum Multis Aliis*, for I thought to take it in the Literal Sence could no way be suitable to the humours of our *Publicans*, for it was never their manner at such a time as this, to hide any of their numbers ; but rather, to make themselves look bigger, and abundantly more numerous than ever they really are ; as we may often see by some of their holding up two hands for one in *Guildhall*, and Poling two or three times instead of once, to be sure on't ; therefore I thought it impossible that they should be guilty of concealing any of their Party upon such an occasion as this ; and above all, I could not perswade my self, but this Latin Expression, must needs have some double meaning, according and conformable to the body of the Address, and most other things our *Publicans* use to do or say.

Then I began to consider it another way, and to suppose, that since they are apt to bring every thing into Slavery they meet with, *possibly the Caprice of some of the Party, at one time or other, might have by Force and Violence reduced these two or three poor simple Latin words into some proper name* ; and it might be, this proper name was at this time, that of their President, and that according to their usual Rules of contraries, this their President had Signed last, *because it is the manner of other Peoples Presidents to Sign first* : But after much Dispute with my self, I was fain to forsake all my Fancies about this Expression, as a Proper Name, and begun again to ponder upon its Natural Signification, to see what I could discover that way : Thus I came to suppose, they might possibly mean their Servants and Tenants, by these Latin words ; but after Inquiry, I understood that they had not many of them, *especially since their Hogsheads full of Blank Patents, are worn quite out of fashion*. Then I inquired if they had any Wives and Children among them ? and after a sharp Scrutiny, I found that *New-England* was a pretty Prolific Country, and knowing the *Publicans* to be a Lazy Idle sort of People, who  
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seldome or ever work with their good will, except it be a little now and then with the *surface of their Brains* ; for deep thoughts they never have any. This made me take it for granted, that their leisure might give them great Opportunity to *Procreate*, and therefore possibly they might have good store of Wives, or at least Women and Children ; so I concluded, that *Cum Multis Aliis* in this place, signified only their Wives and Children ; but I had no sooner taken this for granted ; than I began to wonder wherefore our *Publicans* were pleased to make so bold with their Women and Children, setting them down, not only as consenting, but in such an imperious manner, as if they had actually subscrib'd themselves ; since it might reasonably be supposed, they had never so much as asked one half of their Opinions about the matter : This led me to think of the *Publican Doctrine*, that is to say, of *Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance* ; and that is to say, *Non-Resistance and Passive Obedience* : For there is neither more nor less on't, take it which way you will ; and how by this Doctrine they pretend their Succession is derived, from the Eldest Son of the Eldest Son of Noah, &c. and that every Eldest Brother is the Sovereign of the others, *ad infinitum*, only there has been some few mistakes by the way ; in this manner they take it for granted, that every Father of a Family is Sovereign of it ; always saving the Allegiance they all owe to their upper Sovereign ; thus it is by this Patriarchal kind of Right as they call it, that our *Publicans* make so bold with their Wives and Children, without ever asking their leave, and reckon they are not only obliged by, but included in all they do or say ; but however it is, we need not doubt, but our *Publicans* believe, that their Wives and Children are fully and wholly included in all they say or do, since they have always pretended the Right, not only to Enslave the Age they live in, but even Generations to come ; and not only to Enslave their own, but likewise those of all other People ; and now beyond all Dispute, they would take the same Liberty which some of the Gang in *Affrica* do, in Selling and Pawning their



Wives and Children, if they saw occasion: *And why should we doubt that those People, who pretend a Divine Right to dispose of other Peoples Children, should not make bold with their own?*

But since this little *Latine Expression* is of so large a signification with the *Publicans*, and of so great use among them, to keep their poor Wives and Children in Thralldome: Why may it not also be made use of, as a sign between them and the late *King James*, to signifie something or other, that it may be we may not very well understand? But at least that any Address or other Writing, where *Cum Multis Aliis* follows, is always intended for him: Thus we may see the whole Doctrine of the *Publicans*, contracted and contained in this one little *Mysterious Latin Expression*; but however it is, for my part, I must needs confess, I shall have the worse thoughts of *Cum Multis Aliis*, so long as I live, for this Base and Slavish use made on't by the *Publicans*.

To conclude; I must needs confess, that the Party in *New-England* are so very low and Miserable, *that they are not worth a Line of Chastisement*; Besides, a mean Capacity may see, that it's all but borrowed and Artificial Stuff, and nothing Natural in it; and had it not been for the Party here, I had never set Pen to Paper about the matter; but its the Respect I owe to the Present Government, under their Majesties *King William* and *Queen Mary*, and the Inclination I find in my self, to employ my mean Talent in helping to promote the Trade, Advantage, Welfare, and Greatness of *England*, has moved me to Employ my Pen against this sort of Men, not having any Private Design, Obligation, Disobligation, or End, in doing what I have done; nor was I ever at, or concerned in *New-England*, nor with the People, excepting in common Conversation; I must confess, I have something against the Tyrannies and Evil Government of the other *English Plantations*, and the bad management of the *Trade of England*, which has moved me to write so sensibly about them; but it's hop'd, a small time may shew us some considerable Ease and Redress in these



these things; therefore this hint before hand may not be unnecessary, and something more if required.

It must needs be afflicting to any just and generous *English Mind*, who understands our Affairs fundamentally, to see the Priviledges of *New-England*, not only brought into Dispute at this time of day, but left in dispencc for more than two years, which has been so fatal to some of our best Designs against the common Enemy of Men, and Religion. And the Design of those who have been the Authors, ought not only to be considered, but dreaded with the greatest horror; for these are the Men, who both directly and indirectly embroyl us at home, and abroad. These are the Men who would have *King William* and *Queen Mary* Begin where the late *King James* left off; They would have us send an Army, and a General Governour to New-England, that we might both lose the Country, and be embroyl'd therewith.

All which consider'd, it's highly necessary at this time, for all true *Englishmen*, Lovers of their Country, and consequently of our Sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queens Majesties, to look upon this sort of Men as common Pests; a Crew who have hardly any thing, but *Equivocations*, *Mental Reservations*, *Doubts*, and *Ambiguities*, in all they say or do, and who, as it's Reported of Witches, can never do us harm, till first we believe in, or do them any good.

# ERRATA.

Page 19. Line 31. Read *The Act of Navigation*.

# FINIS.